

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 12306

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR KS JA

SUBJ: GOJ DIET STATEMENTS ON KOREA

REF: A. TOKYO 11328; B. STATE 194052; C. TOKYO 11519

SUMMARY: GOJ STATEMENTS IN DIET AUG 29 AND SEPT 5 ON THREAT FROM NORTH KOREA, 1969 NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE, AND LEGITIMACY OF ROK GOVERNMENT, WHICH EXACERBATED ROK-JAPAN TENSIONS DURING RECENT DIPLOMATIC CRISIS, DO NOT GIVE IMPRESSION EITHER THAT GOJ INTENDED TO INDICATE CHANGE IN JAPANESE POLICIES TOWARD KOREA OR THAT THERE IS ANY DIVERGENCE IN GOJ AND USG VIEWS OF THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF THE ROK. EMBASSY INTENDS URGENTLY TO DISCUSS THESE STATEMENTS FURTHER WITH FOREIGN OFFICE INCLUDING FONMIN KIMURA'S PRESS CLUB STATEMENT CONCERNING NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE, IN ORDER TO OBTAIN AUTHORITY CONFIRMATION OF THIS READING. END SUMMARY.

1. WE HAVE FINALLY OBTAINED FROM FOREIGN OFFICE STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPTS OF DIET INTERPELLATIONS IN UPPER HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AUG 29 AND LOWER HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE SEPT 5. BRIEFLY, SUBSTANCE OF THOSE
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SESSIONS, AS THEY APPLIED TO KOREA, WAS AS FOLLOWS:

A. ON AUG 29 FONMIN KIMURA WAS PRESSED BY JSP'S HIDEO DEN ON LEGITIMACY OF CONTINUED PRESENCE OF UN (AMERICAN) FORCES IN KOREA. KIMURA REFUSED TO MAKE CLEAR STATEMENT OF GOJ POSITION, ASSERTING UNC PRESENCE SINCE KOREAN ARMISTICE IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS AND MATTER FOR SECURITY COUNCIL TO DECIDE. IN CONTEXT OF RATIONALE FOR CONTINUED PRESENCE OF UN FORCES IN KOREA, DEN WENT ON TO ASK WHETHER GOJ THINKS THERE IS QTE THREAT OF ARMS, OR BY MILITARY POWER, FROM NORTH KOREA UNQTE. KIMURA'S RESPONSE: QTE AS TO WHETHER THERE IS OR IS NOT THREAT FROM NORTH IS A QUESTION THAT SHOULD BE JUDGED BY SOUTH. GOJ, ON ITS PART, JUDGES THAT AT PRESENT TIME THERE IS NO SUCH FACT, OBJECTIVELY SPEAKING. UNQTE.

B. ON SEPT 5 JSP'S TAKAKO DOI PURSUED QUESTION OF STATUS OF UN FORCES IN KOREA, REFERRING TO AUG 29 INTERPELLATION IN UPPER HOUSE COMMITTEE SUMMARIZED ABOVE. FONOFF UN AFFAIRS DUREAU DIRGEN SUZUKI RESPONDED FOR GOVERNMENT, ASSERTING THAT WHILE GOJ DOES NOT PERCEIVE IMMINENT MILITARY THREAT IN KOREA UN FORCES ARE LEGALLY PRESENT UNDER FAMILIAR PROVISIONS OF UN CHARTER AND RESOLUTIONS. DOI ALSO PRESSED FONMIN KIMURA TO PROVIDE GOJ STATEMENT OF VIEWS ON LEGITIMACY OF UN FORCES IN ABSENCE OF HOSTILITIES OR THREAT FROM NORTH KOREA. KIMURA AGAIN DECLINED ON GROUNDS THIS IS MATTER FOR JUDGEMENT OF SECURITY COUNCIL AND GOJ SHOULD REFRAIN FROM COMMENTING ON IT INDEPENDENTLY. DOI THEN TURNED TO ARTICLE THREE OF ROK-JAPAN TREATY OF RELATIONS (1965), ASSERTING THAT LANGUAGE IN THAT ARTICLE CLAIMING THAT ROKG IS SOLE LAWFUL GOVERNMENT IN KOREA SHOULD BE RENOUNCED BY JAPAN SINCE IT NO LONGER REFLECTS REALITIES IN KOREAN PENINSULA. IN RESPONSE FONOFF TREATIES BUREAU DIRGEN MATSUNAGA LED COMMITTEE THROUGH HISTORY OF ARTICLE THREE AND UNGA RES 195 TO WHICH IT REFERRED, CONCLUDING THAT GOJ DID NOT AT TIME OF CONCLUSION OF ROK-JAPAN TREATY OR NOW CONCEIVE THAT ROKG WAS ONLY LAWFUL GOVERNMENT IN KOREAN PENINSULA. INSTEAD, HE SAID GOJ HAS ALWAYS RECOGNIZED ROKG AS QTE STATE OR GOVERNMENT WHICH IS ACTUALLY AND EFFECTIVELY CONTROLLING AND RULING OVER SOUTHERN PART OF PENINSULA UNQTE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT GOJ UNDERSTANDING OF THIS POINT HAS NOT CHANGED IN ANY WAY SINCE CONCLUSION OF ROK-JAPAN TREATY. (ASIAN AFFAIRS DIRGEN TAKASHIMA, WHO PREVIOUSLY HEADED TREATIES BUREAU, HAS TOLD US THAT MATSUNAGA'S INTERPRETATION

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WAS COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH THAT STATED BY GOJ IN PAST ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS IN DIET.) DOI PRESSED HIM FOR CLARIFICATION OF GOJ UNDERSTANDING OF WORD QTE KOREA UNQTE AS USED IN ARTICLE THREE OF ROK-JAPAN TREATY, AND MATSUNAGA REPLIED THAT IT MEANT QTE THE GOVERNMENT ACTUALLY AND EFFECTIVELY EXERCISING CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE SOUTH UNQTE. FONMIN KIMURA ENDORSED MATSUNAGA'S EXPLANATION.

C. ALSO ON SEPT 5 IN LOWER HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, LDP'S EIICHI TANAKA REVERTED TO DISCUSSION OF THREAT FROM NORTH, ATTEMPTING TO ELICIT FROM KIMURA ELABORATION OF SIMPLE DENIAL OF MILITARY THREAT FROM NORTH. TANAKA OBSERVED THAT KIMURA AUG 29 STATEMENT HAD RAISED STRONG REACTIONS AMONG KOREANS AND URGED THAT SUBVERSIVE AND GUERRILLA ATTACKS AGAINST ROKG BY NORTH KOREANS CONSTITUTED THREAT REQUIRING STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE AND FIRM ROKG DOMESTIC POLICIES. AS FRIENDLY INTERPELLATOR, TANAKA SAID KOREANS QTE CONTINUE TO HARBOR DEEP DISTRUST AND DOUBTS IN REGARD TO JAPAN'S TRUE INTENTIONS UNQTE. IN RESPONDING, KIMURA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT

HIS STATEMENT REFERRED ONLY TO PURELY MILITARY THREAT AND DID NOT ENCOMPASS HOSTILE GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES AGAINST SOUTH KOREA, ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSINGS AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING ROKG. HE SAID HE WAS QTE NOT DENYING THE ROK SIDE'S INTERPRETING SUCH INCIDENTS AS A THREAT UNQTE. TANAKA WENT ON TO EXPRESS FEAR THAT STATEMENTS ON THREAT SUCH AS KIMURA'S MAY BE MISINTERPRETED BY NORTH KOREA IN SAME WAY THAT THEY MISINTERPRETED ACHESON 1950 STATEMENT AND PROCEEDED TO INVADE THE SOUTH. TANAKA ALSO QUESTIONED KIMURA AS TO WHETHER HIS PREVIOUS REFERENCES TO JAPAN'S CONCERN FOR SECURITY OF KOREAN PENINSULA AS WHOLE WAS INTENDED TO ALTER SO-CALLED ROK CLAUSE IN 1969 NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE (WHICH REFERRED ONLY TO SECURITY OF ROK). KIMURA RESPONDED THAT FORMULATION ON KOREA IN THAT COMMUNIQUE QTE WAS RECOGNITION OF SITUATION CURRENT AT THAT TIME BETWEEN LEADERS OF JAPAN AND U.S. UNQTE

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HE SAID THAT NEW DEVELOPMENTS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE THAT TIME IN RESPONSE TO CHANGES IN SITUATION IN ASIA AND ESPECIALLY ON KOREAN PENINSULA. HE WENT ON TO STATE, HOWEVER, THAT QTE THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA IS ALSO OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO OUR COUNTRY, TOO, AND IT IS ALSO A MATTER OF GREAT CONCERN FOR OUR COUNTRY UNQTE. KIMURA ADDED QTE KOREAN QUESTION IS BEING HANDLED BY UN IN VARIOUS WAYS IN RESPONSE TO NATIONAL DESIRE FOR AN AUTONOMOUS AND PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF KOREAN PENINSULA AS A WHOLE THROUGH FUTURE DIALOGUES BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA. UNQTE. HE THEN CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT QTE AT THE SAME TIME, PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA IN THE FUTURE, WILL ALSO BE OF VITAL IMPORTANCE FOR JAPAN AND FOR THE STABILITY OF THE FAR EAST AND ASIA UNQTE.

2. READ IN CONTEXT OF THRUST OF QUESTIONS PUT TO KIMURA, IT IS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT KIMURA WAS CAUGHT UP IN TRYING TO DEFEND, OR AMPLIFY, HIS ORIGINAL STATEMENT THAT GOJ DOES NOT NOW SEE ANY THREAT OF ARMED AGGRESSION FROM NORTH KOREA AGAINST THE ROK AND DID NOT, NOR IN FACT DID HE UNWITTINGLY, CHANGE GOJ POLICY OR EXPRESS A VIEW WHICH DEPARTS FROM THAT SET FORTH IN NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE CONCERNING STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING SECURITY OF ROK. IN FACT, KIMURA EXPLICITLY REAFFIRMED THAT VIEW IN CONFIDENTIAL

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SEPT 5 EXCHANGE WITH TANAKA NOTED IN PARA 1C ABOVE. HIS STATEMENT ON THAT OCCASION THAT ROK CLAUSE OF NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE ATE WAS THE RECOGNITION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION AT THAT TIME UNQTE THUS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN DIRECTED TO THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 4 OF THE COMMUNIQUE QTE THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER SPECIFICALLY NOTED THE CONTINUING TENSIONS OVER THE KOREAN PENINSULA UNQTE.

3. WE HAVE NOT YET OBTAINED A TRANSCRIPT OF KIMURA'S REMARKS BEFORE THE FOREIGN PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON, BUT WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR IT. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THESE WERE ALSO MADE IN CONTEXT OF KIMURA'S REMARKS BEFORE THE DIET COMMITTEE AND THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO STATE NIXON-SATO COMMUNIQUE IN ITS ENTIRETY, OR EVEN WITH RESPECT TO ROK CLAUSE, WAS SIMPLY A STATEMENT OF VIEWS OR POLICY AT THE TIME.

4. NEVERTHELESS, EMBASSY FULLY AWARE OF IMPORTANCE OF RESOLVING ANY POSSIBLE AMBIGUITY ON THESE POINTS AND WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE MATTER URGENTLY TO OBTAIN AUTHORITATIVE CONFIRMATION OF INTERPRETATION OF KIMURA'S REMARKS AS OUTLINED PARAS 2 AND 3 ABOVE.

5. FULL TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS OF DIET INTERPELLATIONS BEING
POUCHED.
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